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Message Text

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H-01 INR-05 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-05 /085 W
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P R 161200Z NOV 74
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0630
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0118
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 MBFR VIENNA 0421

FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD NOV
NOV 11-17, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: EAST AND WEST EXCHANGED NEGATIVE CRITIQUES OF EACH OTHERS POSITIONS DURING THIS WEEK OF THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. AT THE INFORMAL SESSION, THE EAST PROVIDED REPLIES INDICATING NO FLEXIBILITY TO ALLIED QUESTIONS REGARDING THE EASTERN INITIAL STEP REDUCTIONS PROPOSAL AND PUSHED OFF WESTERN SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION
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OF A GROUND FORCE DEFINITION AND FOR A DATA EXCHANGE.

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IN PLENARY, THE HUNGARIAN REP CRITICIZED THE BASIC
WESTERN REASONING UNDERLYING ALLIED DEMANDS FOR ASYMMETRICAL
EASTERN GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS, AND BELGIAN REP PRESENTED
A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL.
AD HOC GROUP APPROVAL OF THE BELGIAN STATEMENT CAME ONLY
AFTER THE UK DEP MADE A VIGOROUS EFFORT TO SOFTEN
ALLIED CRITICISM. THE ALLIES HAVE DECIDED TO RETAIN
THEIR CURRENT TACTICS IN VIENNA. BUT WITH THE EAST STANDING
FIRM ON ITS FIRST STEP PROPOSAL AND THE ALLIES STILL
LACKING NEGOTIATING AUTHORITY FROM NAC ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER,
A FEELING THAT THE TALKS WERE STALEMATED WAS INCREASING
AMONG SOME ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES AT WEEK'S END.
END SUMMARY.

2. ALLIED ATTENTION IN VIENNA FOCUSED THIS WEEK ON
PREPARING A COMPREHENSIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN FIRST
STEP PROPOSAL FOR DELIVERY AT THE NOV 14 PLENARY. IT
WAS APPARENT THAT, FOLLOWING UK UNWILLINGNESS TO
APPROVE SUCH A STATEMENT FOR THE NOV 7 PLENARY, LONDON
REMAINED WARY ABOUT AGREEING TO AN UNDULY CATEGORICAL
REJECTION OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL IN THIS WEEK'S PLENARY.
IN AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSION, AND IN AHG WORKING GROUP
DISCUSSIONS, UK REPS SOUGHT TO SOFTEN THE TONE OF THE
WESTERN STATEMENT, TO CUT BACK ON NEGATIVE COMMENTARY TO
AVOID CATEGORICAL REFERENCES TO THE UNACCEPTABILITY
OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL AND TO WEAKEN WESTERN INSISTENCE
ON (AND STANDARD ALLIED LANGUAGE REGARDING) THE
END GOAL OF APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND FORCES.

3. OTHER ALLIED REPS SUPPORTED THE US POSITION ON
THE KEY SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF THE TEXT AND ON THE NEED
FOR A DEFINITIVE CRITIQUE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.
AS FINALLY APPROVED BY THE AHG, THE NOV 14 PLENARY
STATEMENT BEGAN (AT UK REQUEST) BY NOTING "SOME
POSITIVE ASPECTS OF A PROCEDURAL NATURE, WHICH WE
WELCOME," BUT THEN WENT ON TO REFUTE, THROUGH A POINT
BY POINT COMPARISON WITH THE NOV 8, 1973, DRAFT EASTERN
AGREEMENT, THE PACT CLAIM THAT ITS FIRST STEP
PROPOSAL IS A COMPROMISE. THE TEXT ALSO INCLUDED AN
ENUMERATION OF 9 SPECIFIC OBJECTIONS TO THE EASTERN PROPOSAL.
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"IT THEN ADDED THAT THIS CATALOG OF ALLIED OBJECTIONS
"MAKES (THE EASTERN PROPOSAL) UNACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR
NEGOTIATIONS." ROSE ACCEPTED THE ABOVE TEXT ONLY AFTER
RECEIVING FRESH INSTRUCTIONS FROM LONDON FOLLOWING THE
DIFFICULT AND LENGTHY NOVEMBER 12 WORKING GROUP DRAFTING
SESSION.

5. WHILE ADDITIONAL DETAILS OF THE EASTERN FIRST

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STEP PROPOSAL WERE REPORTED IN THE WESTERN PRESS
EARLIER IN THE WEEK, EASTERN PRESS SPOKESMEN KEPT
THEIR BRIEFING VAUGE AND UNEXCEPTIONAL FOLLOWING THE
NOV 14 PLENARY. THE AHG AGREED THAT ALLIED REPS SHOULD
CONTINUE TO CORRECT EASTERN MISREPRESENTATIONS TO THE
PRESS THROUGH BACKGROUNDERS WITH KEY REPORTERS,
BUT, IN ORDER TO AVOID EASTERN COUNTER-CHARGES OF
VIOLATING THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE VIENNA TALKS,
THEY CONCLUDED THAT THIS SHOULD NOT BE DONE
DURING THE ALLIED PRESS SPOKESMAN'S REGULAR POST-
PLENARY SESSION.

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RSC-01 NSC-05 /085 W
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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0631
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0119
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

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6. AT THE NOV 14 PLENARY, THE HUNGARIAN REP PETRAN ALSO PRESENTED A STATEMENT WHICH CONTAINED A BROAD CRITIQUE OF THE OVERALL WESTERN POSITION. THE HUNGARIAN REP BEGAN BY NOTING STATEMENTS OF SECDEF SCHLESINGER AND NATO SYG LUNS TO THE EFFECT THAT A "MILITARY BALANCE" ALREADY EXISTED IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN VIEW OF BOTH ALLIED NUCLEAR AND CONVENTIONAL FORCES. PETRAN SAID SUCH STATEMENTS BY WESTERN LEADERS CONTRADICTED THE DEMANDS OF ALLIED REPS IN VIENNA FOR ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS LIMITED TO GROUND FORCES.

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7. IN THE NOVEMBER 12 INFORMAL MEETING, THE EAST ANSWERED SOME OF THE QUESTIONS POSED BY ALLIED REPS IN THE NOVEMBER 5 INFORMAL CONCERNING THE EASTERN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP PROPOSAL. THE EASTERN REPLIES DID NOT INDICATE ANY FURTHER FLEXIBILITY IN THE PACT POSITION AND CONFIRMED THAT, AS REGARDS THESE POINTS, THE EASTERN PROPOSAL DOES NOT DEPART FROM THE NOVEMBER 8 PACT DRAFT AGREEMENT. AS REGARDS THE WESTERN PROPOSAL TO EXCHANGE DATA, SOVIET REP KHLESTOV ONCE AGAIN SAID THAT DISCUSSION OF DATA SHOULD AWAIT PRIOR SETTLEMENT OF ISSUES OF PRINCIPLE, IN PARTICULAR, THE QESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET. AT THE INFORMAL AND IN BILATERALS, EASTERN REPS SEEMED TO PUT OFF BALANCE BY SOME ALLIED QUESTIONS CONCERNING THEIR FIRST STEP REDUCTION PROPOSAL AND BY WESTERN CHARGES THAT THE EAST HAD INVITED SUCH QUESTIONS ONLY TO RESPOND IN A WHOLLY INFLEXIBLE MANNER.

9. CZECHOSLOVAK REP KLEIN RESPONDED TO FOUR ALLIED QUESTIONS, POSED ON NOV 9, AS FOLLOWS: (A) TO EXTEND THE PERIOD OF IMPLEMENTATION OF AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP AGREEMENT BEYOND THE ONE-YEAR PERIOD PROPOSED BY THE PACT WOULD UNDERMINE THE PURPOSE OF THAT PROPOSAL, WHICH WAS TO GAIN RAPID AGREEMENT ON AN INTRODUCTORY REDUCTION STEP. (B) THE EAST WOULD NOT AGREE TO TAKE REDUCTIONS IN THE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP IN THE PROPORTIONS PREVIOUSLY SUGGESTED BY THE WEST BECAUSE THESE PROPORTIONS VIOLATED THE PRINCIPLE OF UNDIMINISHED SECURITY. (C) AS TO WHETHER SOVIETS WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE LARGER PROPORTION OF EASTERN REDUCTIONS IN AN INITIAL REDUCTION STEP OR ALL OF THESE REDUCTIONS, KLEIN SAID THE EAST HAD ALREADY GONE FAR ENOUGH IN MEETING WESTERN INTERESTS. (D) KLEIN REPEATED THE SAME ANSWER TO THE WESTERN QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE EAST WOULD AGREE THAT THE US AND USSR COULD REDUCE THEIR

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FORCES BEFORE THE REMAINING DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAD
UNDERTAKEN SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS AS TO THE AMOUNT AND
TIMING OF THEIR OWN REDUCTIONS. OESER CONFIRMED
THAT ONE MAIN PURPOSE OF THE INITIAL REDUCTION STEP
PROPOSAL WAS TO SECURE COMMITMENT BY OTHER WESTERN
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DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AS TO THE SCOPE AND TIMING OF THEIR
REDUCTIONS BEFORE ANY REDUCTIONS TOOK PLACE, AND THAT
THE INITIAL REDUCTION PROPOSAL WAS IDENTICAL TO THE NOV 8
EASTERN DRAFT IN THIS RESPECT.

10. AT THE NOV 14 AD HOC GROUP MEETING, THERE WAS
BROAD AGREEMENT THAT THE NOV 12 INFORMAL MEETING WAS
NEGATIVE IN OUTCOME. AS THE CANADIAN REP PUT IT, THE
INFORMAL PLAINLY INDICATED THAT THE CURRENT EASTERN
TACTIC WAS ONE OF DELIBERATE STALLING, EXCEPT WHERE THEIR
OWN PROPOSAL WAS CONCERNED. A SENSE OF STALEMATE AMONG
SOME WESTERN DELEGATIONS PROMPTED THE BELGIAN REP
(ADRIAENSSEN) TO RETURN TO HIS EARLIER SUGGESTIONS THAT THE
AHG CHANGE ITS TACTICS. FOLLOWING UP ON RECENT BELGIAN
DEMARCHES IN ALLIED CAPITALS, ADRIAENSSEN URGED THAT
THE WEST REORIENT DISCUSSION IN INFORMAL MEETINGS FROM THE
QUESTION OF "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE
OUTSET" TO A PURPORTED MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN THE EASTERN
INITIAL STEP PROPOSAL AND THE WESTERN FIRST PHASE. THE
BELGIAN REP SAID THE ALLIES SHOULD EXPRESS THE WISH TO REACH
AGREEMENT IN 1975, SUGGEST THAT DISCUSSION FOCUS ON
WHAT MIGHT BE THE COMPONENTS OF AN AGREEMENT WHICH
COULD BE REACHED IN THE COURSE OF NEXT YEAR, AND EMPHASIZE TO
THE EAST THAT COMMON CEILING IN GROUND FORCES WOULD
FOR THE WEST BE THE ESEENTIAL COMPONENT OF SUCH AN AGREEMENT.

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PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-05 /085 W
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INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0120
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AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

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FROM US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

11. ADRIAENSSON'S VIEWS FAILED TO GAIN ANY SUPPORT WITHIN THE AHG GROUP, WHICH DECIDED TO MAINTAIN ITS CURRENT TACTICS. SEVERAL ALLIED REPS NOTED THAT THE WEST WAS ALREADY ATTEMPTING TO SHIFT DISUCSSION TO GROUND FORCE COMMON CEILING BY PRESSING FOR DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCE DEFINITION AND DATA EXCHANGE. THIS TACTIC WOULD BE CONTINUED, ONCE NAC GUIDANCE IS RECEIVED, BY USE OF THE OFFER CONCERNING NO-INCREASE OF AIR FORCE MANPOWER. AS RE-GARDS THE BELGIAN SUGGESTION, HOWEVER, THE GROUP AGREED WITH US REP THAT THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO JETTISON SOME PART OF THE WESTERN PROGRAM IF THEY WERE TO IN PURPORT TO
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"MOVE TO THE MIDDLE GROUND" AND THAT THERE WERE NO GROUNDS FOR DOING SO AT THIS TIME.

12. COMMENT - ANTICIPATED NATO GUIDANCE ON NO-INCREASE OF AIRMANPOWER AND SOME ASPECTS OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES SHOULD AFFORD ALLIED REPS SOME TALKING POINTS FOR THE INFORMAL AND PLENARY SESSIONS REMAINING IN THIS ROUND. BUT THAT GUIDANCE CLEARLY WILL NOT PROVIDE THE IMPULSE NEEDED TO GENERATE PROGRESS IN THE STALLED VIENNA TALKS. A DEEPENING CONSCIOUSNESS OF DEADLOCK IS EVIDENT AMONG A NUMBER ALLIED DELEGATIONS HERE,

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AND THE RESULTS OF THE NOV 5 US CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS
HAVE STIMULATED CONSIDERABLE SPECULATION -- AMONG EASTERN
AS WELL AS WESTERN DELEGATIONS -- REGARDING THE AMOUNT OF
TIME AVAILABLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.
SEVERAL ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES TELL US THEY SHARE THE BELGIAN
VIEW THAT THE TACTICAL NEGOTIATING ADVANTAGE HAS FOR THE
THE FIRST TIME SHIFTED TO THE EAST AND THAT THEY CONSIDER
THE TALKS STALEMATED. WHILE THE AHG HAS CONSIDERED
ADRIAENSSEN'S SUGGESTIONS FOR NEW TACTICS TO BE UNWISE,
THE REPEATED BELGIAN INTERVENTIONS AND THE CURIOUS BRITISH
RELUCTANCE TO REJECT THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL
PROBABLY SHOULD BE SEEN AS SIGNALS OF RE-EVALUATION
IN ALLIED CAPITALS REGARDING PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESS OF THE
VIENNA TALKS. END COMMENT.RESOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MBFR, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Channel Indicators:
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Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 MAR 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <24 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

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Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD NOV NOV 11-17, 1974
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

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